

# Christianity and Crisis

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## The Test of Domestic Policy

THERE is a striking contrast between the recent speeches of both Prime Minister Churchill and General De Gaulle about the future and American discussion of peace. They are concerned with and we are relatively indifferent to any large scale national plans for domestic reconstruction. Many American groups and various departments of government have their plans but there is very little connection between them. The proposals of the National Resources Planning Board have been ignored and the Board itself has been discontinued. There is a very widespread assumption that the chief requisite for the solution of our domestic economic problems is that government leave the destiny of the nation in the hands of business. Free enterprise is advanced as though it were some novel and untried panacea.

The proponents of free enterprise seem to forget that business was not interfered with by government during the nineteen twenties and that the make-shift forms of government intervention in the thirties were attempts to deal with problems which free enterprise had failed to solve. They seem to forget that on the record America has not yet found a solution of the problem of mass unemployment except under a war economy. The amazing productivity of the American economic system during the war has proved the resourcefulness of American management but it has also shown the importance of having a national purpose for which management and government cooperate.

So long as we go on the principle that government activity in economic affairs is intrinsically evil and that private enterprise is intrinsically good, we will fail to discover the right relations between government and industry. It is baffling that people who have lived through both the decade of the twenties and the thirties can hold this conviction. The difficulty is that the element of a solution which is thus rejected out of hand is always brought back by improvisation in emergencies and therefore its creative possibilities are never discovered. Government must be an important factor in economic life, partly because it has the police power and can control anti-social minorities, partly because it is at the center and can deal with national problems, but also because it is responsible to the whole community.

Ours is the only industrialized nation in the world which is reluctant to admit this obvious fact. New ideas about the relationship between social control and private enterprise are necessary. The ideas of both doctrinaire collectivists and of doctrinaire individualists have become more and more irrelevant.

The Christian churches in America have given almost no leadership during the war on domestic economic reconstruction. There were some helpful paragraphs in the Delaware Report but compared with what the churches have done on the problems of world order, their guidance on the domestic issue has been extremely weak. The difference in leadership on economic questions between the American churches and the British churches is startling. The Archbishop of Canterbury has helped to crystallize the purposes of British Christians but he has also reflected their common convictions. The approaching election does much to inhibit constructive thought on these issues in this country but our divisions of opinion cut across party lines. There is a struggle in the Republican Party between those who face the future with open minds and those who are controlled chiefly by nostalgia for a past which can never return. In the Democratic Party the fight is bitter between progressives and reactionaries. So, it is still possible for the churches to try to create a Christian public opinion on a non-partisan basis which will make the prevention of mass unemployment the most important immediate test of the right relationship between social control and private enterprise. It is often said that production rather than employment should be the test, but we must remember that employment under existing conditions is the instrument for both production and distribution, and that failure in either means social disaster.

We have a last chance to prove that it is possible to solve the problem of employment by democratic means, without a war economy and without resort to totalitarianism. Failure to do so in America will threaten democracy everywhere. Increase of government control has its perils and needs to be watched but the greatest danger to democracy would come from the failure of government, in cooperation with industry and labor, to act in time to prevent a recurrence of mass unemployment. J.C.B.

## Editorial Notes

The article on "Foxhole Religion," which we published recently, has prompted a large correspondence. Most of our letters are from chaplains; and all of their letters have corroborated the general estimate of religious and moral conditions in the army which was made in the article. We are publishing some excerpts from this correspondence in another column.

We had rather hoped that the testimony of the chaplains would not be so unanimous. There is, in fact, another side to the picture which we hope to present in an early issue. Moral and religious conditions naturally vary in an army of eight million men. The attitude of commanding officers toward the work of the chaplains varies also. It must not be assumed that there is a general policy in the army, condoning semi-official establishments of houses of prostitution. High ranking officials have expressed indignation over the publication of our article on the ground that it gave a false picture of army policy. We have no doubt that the army leadership as such does not condone this policy. On the other hand our correspondence with chaplains prompts the conviction that the practices to which the article referred are rather more widespread, particularly in combat areas, than we had hoped. This is the kind of problem which ought to be subject to mutual consideration by army leaders and representatives of a united church.

Our correspondence with chaplains has raised other grave facets of the sex problem in the army. One such issue is the conflict between the approach of medical officers and of chaplains toward the problem. Medical officers usually assume sexual indulgence in their advice to soldiers and in their insistence upon the precaution of prophylaxis. This advice stands in such contradiction to the religious and moral emphasis upon continence, that in one military unit the chaplains asked that the medical officer's and the chaplain's lectures be given on different days so that the contrast would not be too embarrassing and glaring.

The acting Adjutant General of the United States Army has sent Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, the following definition of War Department policy of bombing in answer to Dr. Cavert's request:

"You may be assured it is not the policy of the War Department to deliberately subject entire communities to wanton destruction and every effort is

made to confine bombing attacks strictly to military objectives and that any military operations will be predicated solely upon military necessity. However, so long as Axis-controlled cities remain a vital military significance and are utilized as transportation and strategic focal points of the Nazi military machine, it will be incumbent upon the Allies to seek out these objectives and achieve their destruction in order to avoid an unnecessary sacrifice of lives of our soldiers."

Most of the mail which has come to us in response to our editorial on obliteration bombing is from correspondents who think that our protest against such bombings proves our whole position on the war to be wrong. "You expected the flames of hell to generate 1,000 degrees but now when the heat rises to 1,250 degrees, that is too much," declares one correspondent.

All of us who support this war have a certain disadvantage in debate with those who regard any new revelation of the horrors of war as validation of their refusal to participate in it. The disadvantage lies in the fact that the victory for which we strive will destroy the Nazi tyranny which would have triumphed had their policy prevailed. The world which would have emerged from their policy will be dead; the world which results from our policy is alive and challenges the conscience not only by the cruelties which are the concomitant of war but also by the imperfections which will accompany even a "tolerable" peace settlement. Before this Nazi tyranny is completely dead it might be worth calling attention to the fresh atrocities which the Nazis are committing against the Hungarian Jews, since their occupation of Hungary. These ought to remind us of the tragic character of all our choices in such a time as this.

We do not claim that it is easy to draw a line between what is permissible and what is not in a "total" war. We recognize that a technical civilization has increased the totalitarian character of war. We believe nevertheless that lines can be drawn and that a line against "obliteration" bombing is possible. We do not claim that the limits of "military necessity" can be perfectly defined. But we are certain that the military mind inclines to neglect moral and psychological factors in warfare and that it is the business of sensitive citizens to bring pressure upon the civilian strategists for the purpose of holding military strategy in check. At the present moment this means that we ought to remind our statesmen that the poverty of their political program for the reconstruction of Europe and the world increases the "military necessity" of physical destruction.

# Catholicism and Clerical Politics

EDUARD HEIMANN

AS secular movements, which claimed to bring "enlightenment" to the total human situation, have increasingly failed to illumine the problems of our age, many people have returned to the churches where they hope to find the eternal verities which alone can give us an understanding of our history and of man's place in it. However limited in extent this return to the churches may be, it cannot be welcome without qualification; for the greater the sincerity and devotion of the reclaimed believer, the greater the danger that superstition will accompany religious faith, particularly the superstitious confidence in an unerring church. It is precisely the emancipation from responsibility which unerring advice from an unerring institution presumably accords, which prompts the return of some people to the Church. Modern men thus face a difficult situation. For it is quite certain that the Church has preserved certain ultimate insights of faith which modern men desperately need. But it is also certain that churches consist of erring men whose faults and deficiencies invariably tend to corrupt the meaning and the application of the great truths of faith.

The recognition of this corruption is by no means a purely Protestant insight, as many would have us believe. It is only because the liberal world, both Protestant and secular, is remarkably ignorant of Catholic life and doctrine that it fails to understand the reservations with which Catholics hold their faith in the Church. Every Catholic child learns that even the Pope may not only err but actually sin and that sanctity is ascribed not to the person but to the office. This distinction is important for the attitude of the individual Catholic toward the policy of the Vatican.

It is logical and fundamental that the Church's claim to infallibility is expressly limited to doctrinal matters and does not cover problems of application. The Church does not presume to give infallible advice on how to deal with immediate and pressing problems but it does claim to state the general standards in terms of which the problems should be solved and to awaken the conscience to the sufferings involved in the solution of the problems. It gives, in short, spiritual orientation. Roman Catholics, both clerical and lay, may well disagree on political policy, except under totalitarian regimes.<sup>1</sup>

It is particularly important, for Catholics as well as for others, that the present property system, as

such, should not be given religious sanctity. This is evidenced by the fact that Sir Thomas More, more radical in his rejection of private property than any present-day communists and glorified in every popular history of socialist thought, was made a saint by the late Pius XI a few years ago. The objectionable thing in communism from the standpoint of Catholicism is not the critique of private property but the philosophy of materialism, the doctrine that man is not spiritual but material, and that he will be delivered, not from one historical evil, but from evil *per se* by the dialectical processes of history culminating in the revolution. Anarchists teach that man is naturally good, communists that he is becoming good and that the proletarian dictatorship will recreate his goodness. It is on religious grounds that such doctrines are unacceptable to the Church. For while material and institutional changes may be necessary, they do not change the fundamental fact that man is spiritually weak and liable to temptation; injustice is rampant in ever new forms. To warn against injustice particularly under the cloak of justice, is the political business of the Church. She may, and does, go beyond this by way of positive recommendations; but these are invariably of a general nature and open to manifold interpretation.

One glance at the wide differences between the national branches of the Church bears this out. In France, Belgium and Germany the Church cannot, in fairness, be said to be politically reactionary. Especially in France there were determined liberals and progressives among the highest dignitaries of the Church. Throughout the republican period of Germany the Catholic Party was a pillar of the regime, in coalition with the Social Democratic Party either in the government of the Reich or at least in that of Prussia. In Britain the Catholic Church is committed to fight for the Beveridge plan, which official Toryism rejects; and in Canada, the Commonwealth Party, which is a strongly social democratic party without Marxian philosophy, is looked upon with some favor by the hierarchy. In Ireland, Portugal, and Spain things are very different; and particularly so in Italy, which has the largest number of Cardinals and thereby an unwritten title to the Papacy.

Undoubtedly the strictly hierarchical structure of the Church gives the position of the Vatican and its policy a prestige which imposes limitations upon the freedom of discussion within the Church. The tradition of the Vatican, for more than fifteen hundred years, has been in a vested interest in political

<sup>1</sup> Catholics seem to have succeeded in convincing more responsible Protestants that the Church does not claim infallibility in political matters. Yet leading Protestant scholars still speak without inhibition of Catholic "totalitarianism."



power. There is a difference between spiritual guidance to the political authority by the Church and the direct advice to the political authority which the Church claimed and practiced in the middle ages and has claimed ever since. Since the Church is infallible, if at all, only in matters of religious doctrine, but not in those of application, her involvement in politics cannot fail to involve her in error and sin. And since it is her spiritual authority which is illegitimately cited to support her political advice, it is logical for adversaries of her policy to suspect and denounce her spiritual authority. Everything good in life, love and beauty and truth, is open to abuse and perversion; but no perversion can be as destructive as a clericalism which uses religion itself for the worldly ends of the Church.

Clericalism assumed its historical significance in our time when the Church concluded concordats with the fascist powers to protect her vested interests. Great encyclicals, it is true, condemned nationalist and racial arrogance in unmistakable language. They insisted on the spiritual kinships of all God's children beyond the physical divisions in the human race. They condemned the glorifications of war as a divine institution. Yet there is a conspicuous difference of tone between these encyclicals and those against communism. The learned men of the Vatican surely have known that fascism is a relapse into sheer paganism, the deification of the divisive forces of nature, while communism is a Christian heresy with its emphasis upon the unity of the race and the supreme value of justice and peace, however gravely it may distort the nature of man and the path toward the supreme goal. But the Vatican's practical policy preferred the heathen to the heretics. It must always be kept in mind that these modern heathen had been Christian, that they are apostates and therefore worse than heretics. The obvious ground for this policy of the Vatican was that communism made its atheism a kind of state religion and enforced it by burning churches and killing priests, while fascism entered into diplomatic relations with the Church, with a view of proving to believing Christians that adherence to fascism is compatible with their faith. But once they became full-fledge fascists they were indoctrinated with that contempt for everything spiritual, human and Christian, which Hitler's Rosenberg's books preach in such satanic terms. To kill the Church by outright physical violence was the program of communism; to make her ripe for the final assault by corrupting her from within was the program of fascism. The Church preferred diplomatic corruption to physical assault, on the theory that her survival was of first importance; then she would outlive her adversaries and resume her missionary work. This logic is however extremely dubious. Every vested interest argues that it has the duty of preserving itself for

the benefit of the community. The more the Church is convinced of eternal life, the freer should she be to prefer the Christian witness of martyrdom to a survival bought at the price of diplomatic corruption.

The undaunted stand of the German Catholic Bishops has increased the moral authority of the Church far beyond her own pale; while the pro-fascist diplomacy of the Vatican in Italy and Spain has immeasurably harmed her authority throughout the world. The Church almost openly welcomed the anti-Comintern pact of the fascist powers and found herself in a kind of alliance with them in the Spanish Civil War. However when Hitler invaded Russia and styled this enterprise a crusade against the godless, the Vatican ignored the ignominious offer.<sup>2</sup> But Franco and Petain still enjoy special favors. Meanwhile the enormous influence of the Catholics in the party machines of the Democratic Party in the United States, in an alliance with the conservative business interests, Catholic or not, has imposed upon our State Department a clerical policy, to build up the Vatican as a tower of conservative respectability against the rough waters of European anti-fascism. Paul Tillich has paradoxically but truly argued that the United States today occupies the position of Spain and Austria in former centuries; the position of the leading Catholic power. On this basis the Vatican is now as busy as ever pursuing its clerical policy, particularly in South America and in Southern Europe.

The effects of clericalism can best be studied in the Spanish Civil War, which has assumed a symbolic significance in the consciousness of the world. The ignorance and partiality of liberals on church matters confused their understanding of this issue. It is not true that the Spanish Church was very rich; a hundred years ago most of her property had been nationalized and sold to private buyers. Nor is it true that the Republic was perfectly tolerant; it condoned, and some of its officers welcomed, the burning of churches and the profanation of many more. Priests were attacked and killed. But it is also a fact that the Church was uncomfortably close to the landed aristocracy and the monarchy and consequently shares their responsibility for the deep corruption of public life and for the mismanagement of a nation which, gifted as few other nations, has long been kept in a degree of misery and ill-health unknown in the other countries of Europe. The curse of the wrong we do is that it incites hatred and the lust of vengeance and violence in our vic-

<sup>2</sup> In fairness it should be said that the Vatican went beyond this and tried to make a concordat with the Soviet. Archbishop Spellman spent some time in Teheran, waiting for an invitation to Moscow, which did not come. It is the Soviet's not the Vatican's fault that the rift has not been healed.

times. In such historical vengeance there is no exclusive sin. Vengeance belongs to God but He still executes it in history through men. The Church, when engaging in politics, cannot complain of being paid in the worldly currency she uses. She cannot in fairness, although she does, hide her worldly aspirations behind her spiritual sainthood. If a just wrath drives her political opponents into the camp of atheism, this result, far from proving the original viciousness of the opposition, as the Church would have us believe, only accentuates the verdict against her. "I hate, and despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies, saith the Lord."

Pope Pius XI is reliably reported to have repented his stand in the Spanish War on his deathbed. If true, this honors him as a character, but it does not exculpate the Church, the less so since her protagonists in the Spanish War do not have the moral strength which enabled the Supreme Pontiff to admit his failure. Their self-righteousness in the face of a truly disastrous record of association with Hitler is nothing short of exasperating, and while the Vatican is not identical with individual priests in the United States or elsewhere, no word of humility or generosity has come from the official Church to purify the poisonous atmosphere.

Some documentation of this charge is advisable. A host of Catholic spokesmen in all countries were busy explaining that only atheists had an interest in discrediting the war of the religious Spanish people against a clique of anarchists and communists by exaggerating the insignificant numbers of Italian and German volunteers. When the fully pro-Franco *Times* of London described how German fliers had deliberately destroyed Guernica, the entirely undefended ancient center of worship of the staunchly Catholic and staunchly republican Basques, those Catholic spokesmen explained that it was communists who had committed arson and now blamed it on General Franco's fighters. These voices were abruptly silenced when Hitler gave a mammoth reception to celebrate the Spanish exploits of his "Condor Legion." But the Reverend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, the most vocal witness in this country to the absence of Nazi intervention in Spain, still regards himself as competent to teach us how to rescue democracy. The leading Catholic magazine in this country, *America*, which cannot be said to lean towards fascism, went to great lengths in extolling the cause of Spanish fascism, and was plainly taken in by a writer, Merwin K. Hart, who is not a Catholic and not known for any special interest in religion but well known for the flagrant expression of his anti-democratic convictions. Fairness demands the admission that Protestant anti-clericalism is often as morally objectionable as Catholic clericalism. When utterly anti-Christian men, because

their political views appear to commend them, are invited to regular attacks on Catholicism by a magazine whose name and sponsors suggest a representative position among Protestants, this abuse of Protestantism for anti-clerical political ends is as outrageous as clericalism and cannot fail to accentuate religious conflict.

Clericalism is the refutation of the Catholic Church's claim to guide Christian consciences in these troubled times. It gives a moral justification to atheism. It prompts the repudiation of Christianity in the name of integrity. To those who are convinced that, without Christian guidance, mankind cannot find its way out of the present impasse, this situation presents a desperate task. They must fight atheism on the one hand and clericalism on the other, though both battles are very difficult.

It would be a gross overstatement, of course, to attribute the power of atheism to clericalism, exclusively or primarily. Fate and guilt are strangely interwoven in the development from medieval Christianity to the rise of modern secular civilization. Even today clericalism need not produce atheism, as can be seen from the heroic example of the Basques in Spain. The greatest example of this fact in world history is found in an age which still knew how to discriminate. When the French towns, in the thirteenth century, shook off the political yoke of their lords, both counts and bishops, and established themselves as free "communes," they thanked God for their freedom by erecting those gigantic cathedrals which rank among the miracles of the world. It took the small communities, without wealth and without mechanical devices, generations of pious fervor to accomplish the work. It is well to remember that it was in protest against clericalism that the great churches of France were built, as a warning to all posterity not to confuse Christianity with the sins of its human instruments.

## About Foxhole Religion

The following comments have been sent to us by various members of the armed forces on the religious and moral situation in the army. Most of the comments were prompted by the recent article on "Foxhole Religion."

"... My co-chaplain and I would like to write the author and express our appreciation of his straight-to-the-point handling of an issue, the facts of which many of us chaplains know, but do not expose as boldly as he."

CHAPLAIN, U.S.A.

"CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS is by far the most stimulating religious publication which I am receiving. In times like these when darkness has covered the world, we often lose sight of the significance of many of the religious and social problems facing

the world. The article on 'Foxhole Religion' was a true insight into religion in the service and some of the problems of the chaplain."

CHAPLAIN, U.S.N.R.

"... The conditions of work in the chaplaincy as described in 'Foxhole Religion,' are all too true to experience. So much so that one often wonders if it is all worth while. Congratulations on an honest report. We have had too much superficial optimism in much that has been published on the chaplain's work."

CHAPLAIN, U.S.A.

"Whoever it was wrote the article on 'Foxhole Religion' shows a remarkable knowledge of what goes on. Few people realize how bad the situation is, or has become. As far as I know, it has been there since the war commenced.

"When we first came into the army, and at every new station we came to as cadets, we had the same routine of welcome and warning speeches. First would come the chaplain, who spoke from the moral standpoint of sex, that it was better to stay away entirely from it, and invariably ended with the phrase that total abstinence was the best prophylactic. Then, next on the billing would come the flight surgeon, 'doc' in any place but the AAF. He would talk as if every man indulged, and from their point of view it was the best policy. They would tell us what to do when we had been exposed, the dangers of waiting too long, and what happened to fliers who contracted a venereal disease. We had movies on the use of prophylactics, the dangers involved and the percentages of those getting diseased, how they increased hourly after exposure. When those two army men finished, we were introduced to our new C.O.

"When we became officers and arrived at our new stations, the welcome committee, I never knew why, was noticeably in the absence of the chaplain—whether he was kept away or didn't care to show up I never knew. But here we got talks on that officers set the example and should use prophylactics the moment after each exposure. . . .

"... Back to the article, which you sent.

"The army houses for prostitution are well known, though I've never met any one who knows where they are. I could mention some very high men who advocate this practice in that a man going into combat who knows that if he gets back he'll have his 'reward' at a GI brothel, will be more anxious to get back. These brothels, as far as I know, exist only in areas near combat. . . ."

AAF PILOT.

"My many months overseas in 1943 justify me in saying 'Amen, to your Foxhole Religion,' and I have plenty of particulars on that. But I do wish

that greater emphasis could be placed now on what is being done by a great many Commanding Officers to give the chaplain the support he needs. . . ."

CHURCH OFFICIAL.

"I am glad to hear that you are following up the 'Foxhole Religion' article. We have plenty of complaints coming to this office but most of them are anonymous. . . ."

CHURCH OFFICIAL.

"The general consensus at this field—and I suppose most fields—appears to be that one can't enjoy life unless he is completely subjected to the power and control of strong intoxicants. Personally, I can find nothing wrong with drinking occasionally and only to the degree of moderation. But it is difficult for me to tolerate dull people who actually take pride in drinking themselves constantly into a state of virtual unconsciousness. But the worst part of it all, however, is the fact that this condition is not only accepted but also encouraged by headquarters. To go out and get drunk with the Post Adjutant is the supreme accomplishment to many."

ARMY AIR FORCE PILOT.

"In other words the work of the chaplain and the religious welfare of the men is on the periphery . . . just the same as in civilian life. The chaplain does have great freedom to try to make the religious program real and vital. But he has to battle hard to do so. Not because of actual antagonism, but most, including the commanding officers, simply do not regard it as an integral and vital part of life. The chaplain or the chapel is a good place to go when everything else fails, but is for most unnecessary as a steady diet.

"Equally disconcerting is the apathy of the great mass of soldiers to the political and social issues of the day. There is genuine concern about killing and the folly of war. There is a strong feeling that this is just another imperialistic war that the politicians and industrialists have led us into.

"I say the army officials are anxious to avoid these political implications. That is not wholly so. Stemming from Washington there is a very fine program of orientation which is developing. For about three months the organization has been working on this field. A great amount of resource material has been gathered, pastors, articles in the field newspaper, and nightly forums and discussions have aroused considerable attention and wholesome discussion.

"Our contacts in the barracks, in the area, in our counselling are of far more value than the formal services of worship. What is disconcerting is the far greater number for whom religion has little significance."

CHAPLAIN, U.S.A.



# The World Church: News and Notes

## Nazis Close Only Remaining Theological School in Norway

The Nazis in Norway are renewing their efforts to smash the church front and to create a Nazified "church" to aid in the task of spreading Nazi doctrines. Last week the one remaining independent theological school in Norway, the Congregational Faculty in Oslo, was ordered closed by the Nazi Department of Church and Education. Simultaneously this department intensified its high-pressure campaign to enlist students for a new "lightning course" in theology designed to produce pro-Nazi clergymen in record time. But despite glittering assurances that all expenses—tuition, board and room—would be paid by the state and that "graduates" would have equal standing with the regularly trained clergy there has been no evidence of interest on the part of Norway's youth.

The first indication that the Nazis were determined to close the school came on March 4 when the following letter from the Department of Church and Education was received by the board of the Congregational Faculty:

"Considerable dissatisfaction has been caused by the fact that the University Theological Faculty had temporarily to interrupt its instruction while the Congregational Faculty appeared to be placed in a favored position. Because of this the Department of Church and Education finds it only fair to order also that the other Faculty be similarly restricted until further notice and temporarily discontinue its instruction. The Congregational Faculty therefore will cease instruction from Friday the 10th of this month. The students should be requested to return home as soon as possible. These students who might wish to participate in the course that the Department of Church and Education plans to put into operation for the training of loyal pastors for the Norwegian Church are requested to send a written application regarding this to the Department of Church and Education."

For many years prior to the invasion of Norway the Norwegian Church was characterized by two distinct movements, one liberal, headed by Bishop Eivind Berggrav, the other conservative, led by Hallesby. The theological faculty at the University of Oslo represented, unofficially, the more liberal branch whereas Hallesby's school was established in an effort to emphasize the more conservative, perhaps even pietistic, aspects of Christian life and doctrine. Graduates of both institutions were qualified for ordination by the Church.

It is interesting to note that the divergent currents in the Church were merged soon after the invasion. Within a few months, in October, 1940, representatives of both factions met publicly for "Christian deliberation in behalf of the Norwegian Church." In the course of that historic public meeting, which was attended by Hallesby and Berggrav, both groups publicly proclaimed the solidarity of the church front. In the course of the meeting Berggrav said: "We stand together now. All Christians in this land are now facing in the same direction." They have continued to do so ever since.

## Dutch Reformed Church Threatens to Expel Nazis

Geneva (By Wireless)—The Dutch Reformed Church has called upon parish councils throughout Holland to initiate rigid measures against church members who are Nazis.

In a pastoral letter warning against "the dangerous implications of Nazi conceptions," church leaders denounced any kind of collaboration between Christianity and Nazism and requested pastors to enforce a strict discipline of Nazi followers inside the church.

This is believed to be the first time that a major Protestant body in an occupied country has threatened to "read out" members who are Nazis.

Emphasis is laid throughout the pastoral upon the theme that Nazism is essentially an anti-Christian "religious movement" which "will long remain a challenge to the church."

Each section of the letter develops this theme, the first section stressing that Nazism obeys "a different God," and that it is a religion "which regards anything contrary to its conception of life as sin."

The second section denounces the "different morality" embraced by the Nazis, declaring that Nazism "rejects humanity as a bourgeois conception, knows nothing of good and evil, and exalts hardness, impatience, self-assertion, and pride as manifestations of honor."

Another section, devoted to anti-Semitism, declares Nazi hatred of Jews is due to an "aversion to the Jewish God and Bible which unmasks paganism."

The Nazi doctrine of blood and soil, the pastoral contends, "undermines the basis of Christian life on earth."  
(RNS)

## This Is My Body

A group of French prisoners of war have given a touching testimony to their attachment to the Church, by sending the Reformed Church at Lyons a parcel of flour saved up from their rations, with which they asked the Lyons Church to make the bread for the Christmas Communion, as a material symbol of the communion of the Church in Lyons and the Church behind the barbed wire in the same bread and Body.

I.C.P.I.S. Geneva.

## Fair Employment Practice

Declaring racial and religious discrimination in employment to be "one of the great moral issues before our nation today," the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America urged the government "to establish permanent procedures for securing the objectives which have been sought by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice."

In a resolution approved by its executive committee, the inter-church body declared: "The right of a worker to be employed and paid solely on the basis of his character and ability is so clear, just and Christian that it should be protected in law. This right should be safeguarded by appropriate legislative and administrative provisions."

# Christianity and Crisis

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## National Conference on Palestine

The National Conference on Palestine met recently at the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C. It was sponsored by the Christian Council on Palestine, the American Palestine Committee, Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, the United Christian Council for Democracy, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, the Free World Association, and the Union for Democratic Action. Over two hundred delegates, for the most part clergymen and educators, came from thirty-two states to attend the meetings.

A pronouncement, unanimously adopted, called for: (1) Protests against the mass slaughter of Jews by Hitler, and organized action by the United Nations to "provide for the survivors of Hitler's attempt to annihilate a people"; (2) for an unrelenting campaign against the "anti-Jewish agitation of democracy's enemies"; (3) a re-dedication of the Christian world "to the heritage it has received from Judaism, the mother faith of Christianity"; (4) for the "basic rights of the Jews, as individuals, to enjoy the same privileges of freedom and equality as others enjoy"; (5) for "the right of Jews, as a people, to dwell in Palestine and to have in Palestine a homeland where they may achieve self-determination and be freed from the spectre of homelessness which has haunted them for centuries"; (6) for recognition of the significant development of Palestine during the past quarter century in which "a barren wilderness has been transformed into a garden spot, where hundreds of thousands of people have been enabled to reconstruct their lives and where the ground has been prepared for the absorption of several million more immigrants"; (7) for fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration; (8) for the abrogation of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine; (9) for opposition to the policy of appeasement which threatens any "enduring and equitable solution of the Palestine problem"; (10) for the reconstitution of Palestine by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth; (11) and "the passage, at the earliest opportunity, by the Senate and the House, of the Wagner-

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Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions now under discussion in committees, so that these objectives may be the more speedily achieved."

## Threat of Revolt Revealed in Sermon by Kaj Munk

The text of a sermon in which the late Kaj Munk, murdered Danish clergyman and author, flaunted the threat of revolt against the German occupation forces in Denmark has been published in the Stockholm newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet*.

The sermon was to have been delivered by the Jutland clergyman in Holy Ghost Church in Copenhagen shortly after his release from prison last November, but Nazi officials prevented him from speaking. The sermon, however, was preached a few weeks later in Copenhagen Cathedral by another clergyman without mention of the author's name.

Pointing to the persecution of Jews in Denmark and other practices "detestable to Nordic minds," the sermon, based on the parable of the ten foolish virgins, said:

"If this happens once more, we will try, with God's help, to incite the people to rebellion, because God's wrath must strike at a Christian people which stands idly by when its ideals are violated.

"We have all fallen asleep like the foolish virgins, because Christ is not sufficiently in us. May we be given the time and grace to fill our lamps with oil, and not be left standing before life's shut door because of our foolishness.

"There are many signs that the Danish people are awakening from their mental sleep."

Stressing the duty of the church to make itself heard in Denmark's political crisis, Kaj Munk asserted that "to urge silence in the face of deeds of sin is to speak the language of the devil."

In the weeks preceding his assassination, it has just been learned, Kaj Munk had shown an increasing determination to speak out plainly in condemnation both of German occupation authorities and Danish collaborators.

Abandoning his usual practice of preaching a carefully-prepared New Year sermon, Kaj Munk entered his church at Vedersø without a manuscript. He did not wear any vestments, or make use of the pulpit. Instead, he stood on the floor facing his congregation and bitterly denounced the members of his parish whom he accused of giving aid to the Germans.

Charging that some of the more wealthy farmers and merchants of the community had supplied horses, wagons, and other materials to the occupation forces, he declared:

"If you did not want to fight openly, you might at least have remained passive. I see no reason why I should preach to you; and now, you can go home."

This was his last appearance at services. (RNS)

## Author in This Issue:

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